

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 113109

EXDIS - MILITARY ADDEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLL REPEAT AMEMBASSY TOKYO 6444 ACTION TO SECSTATE, INFO MOSCOW,
TAIPEI HONG KONG AND PEKING 15 MAY:

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 6444

EXDIS

DEPT PASS CINCPAC

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA

SUBJ: JAPAN-CHINA PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS DEADLOCKED

REF: TOKYO 5557; TOKYO 5876; TOKYO 6321

SUMMARY: GOJ HUDDLING WITH AMB TO PRC OGAWA TRYING TO
DETERMINE COURSE TO PURSUE WITH PRC TO OVERCOME "HEGEMONY"
ISSUE. FONMIN AND VICE FONMIN TOLD AMBASSADOR HODGSON
CHINESE ARE ADAMANT ON INCLUSION OF "ANTI-HEGEMONY" CLAUSE
IN BODY OF TREATY AND SO FAR CHINESE HAVE BEEN UNWILLING
TO EVEN CONSIDER JAPANESE COMPROMISE PROPOSALS. JSP
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NARITA'S COMMUNIQUE WITH PEKING PROVIDES A POLITICALLY
SALABLE EXCUSE FOR NOT YET CONCLUDING TREATY. MEANWHILE,
BRINGING "HEGEMONY" DISPUTE TO TOKYO'S COCKTAIL CIRCUIT,
SOVIET EMBASSY ADDED PRESSURE TO GOJ BY LEAKING WORD
SOVIETS WOULD "CUT TIES" WITH JSP IN REACTION TO THE PEK-

ING COMMUNIQUE AND PRC AMB CHEN HAS BEEN OVERHEAD LAMBAST-
ING THE GOJ AT COCKTAIL RECEPTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING THEIR MEETING ON MAY 13, FONMIN MIYAZAWA COMM-
ENTED BRIEFLY TO AMBASSADOR HODGSON ON THE PRESENT STATUS
OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE JAPAN-CHINA TREATY OF PEACE AND
FRIENDSHIP. HE PREFACED HIS REMARKS BY STATING THAT THE
PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN RATHER "IRRITATED" WITH THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY'S HANDLING OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS BOTH
IN TOKYO AND PEKING. HE DID NOT ELABORATE ON THE PRIME
MINISTER'S "IR-
RITATION".

2. FONMIN THEN SAID THAT THE LAST JAPANESE MOVE HAD BEEN
MADE THROUGH VICE-MIN TOGO'S SUGGESTION THAT REFERENCE
TO THE HEGEMONY CONCEPT BE MADE IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE
TREATY. THIS, HE EXPLAINED, WAS TO TEST WHETHER THE PRC
HAD ANY FLEXIBILITY ON THIS ISSUE. PRC AMB CHEN HAD FIN-
ALLY RESPONDED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD SPEAK TO THIS
NOTION IN PEKING.

3. FOLLOWING THE DEPARTURE OF PRC VICE PREMIER TENG
HSIAO-PING FOR PARIS, AMB OGAWA HAD BEEN CALLED BACK TO
TOKYO FOR CONSULTATIONS. ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE,
AMB OGAWA HAD MET WITH PRC VICE-FONMIN HAN NIEN-LUNG. HE
WAS TOLD THAT THE PRC WOULD ACCEPT NOTHING LESS THAN IN-
CLUSION OF THE HEGEMONY CONCEPT, AS SET FORTH IN THE JAPAN-
CHINA JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF 1972, BEING INCORPORATED AS ONE
OF THE ARTICLES OF THE TREATY. FONMIN SAID THAT IT SEEMS
CLEAR THE PRC REGARDS THIS ISSUE AS NON-NEGOTIABLE.

4. MIYAZAWA EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THE STIFF ATTITUDE BE-
ING TAKEN BY PEKING AND SAID THAT HE COULD SEE NO WAY
AROUND THE PROBLEM. FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER, THE PRC
CLEARLY IS NOT PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE IN ANY TERMS OTHER
THAN THEIR OWN.
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5. IN PRIVATE DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR MAY 14, VICE
FONMIN TOGO WENT FURTHER DESCRIBING PEKING'S ATTITUDE.
WITH RESPECT TO THE PRC TREATY NEGOTIATIONS, TOGO SAID
THAT PRC IS NOW TAKING WHAT AMMOUNTS TO A "OILY" STANCE
WITH RESPECT TO ITS INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION OF A HEGE-
MONY CLAUSE. THIS ATTITUDE STARTED TO BECOME EVIDENT IN
LATE APRIL AND IS EXEMPLIFIED BY (A) PRC UNWILLINGNESS
TO CONSIDER REFERENCE TO THE SUBJECT IN THE PREAMBLE
RATHER THAN THE ARTICLE STRUCTURE OF THE TREATY, (B) NEWLY
EMERGING REFERENCES NOT ONLY TO THE USSR BUT TO THE UNITED
STATES IN PRC ARGUMENTS FOR THE CLAUSE, (C) PRC UNWILLING-
NESS TO RESPOND TO GOJ PROPOSALS ON THE SUBJECT MADE IN
TOKYO IN ANY PLACE BUT PEKING, AND (D) A FLAT REJECTION

OF GOJ REQUESTS TO EXPLORE ALTERNATE PROVISIONS OR REVISED LANGUAGE ON THE SUBJECT. IN RECENT PEKING DISCUSSIONS PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA TOLD ASIAN BUREAU DIGNITARY TAKASHIMA IN EFFECT THAT THE TREATY SOUGHT BY JAPAN WAS A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE TO PRC ON ANY TERMS OTHER THAN PRC'S OWN.

6. TOGO STATED IF PRC PERSISTS IN THIS STANCE THERE WILL BE NO TREATY THIS YEAR. PRIME MINISTER MIKI HAS BECOME ESPECIALLY ADAMANT IN THIS VIEW SINCE JSP NARITA'S TRIP TO THE PRC PRODUCED A STATEMENT IRKSOME TO GOJ. TOGO ASSUMES PRC MUST HAVE BEEN AWARE THEIR STATEMENT WILL THE JSP WOULD PRODUCE SUCH AN EFFECT ON GOJ AND WERE NOT DISTURBED BY THAT FACT.

7. TOGO ALSO SAYS HE IS STILL NOT CERTAIN WHAT PROMPTED THIS HARDENING OF THE PRC STANCE. HE ADDS THAT HE HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT PRC AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN CHEN IS NOW BEING CHASTISED FOR BEING TOO ACCOMMODATING IN EARLIER NEGOTIATIONS WITH TOGO. FINALLY IN SPITE OF ALL THE FOREGOING, TOGO IS STILL NOT WHOLLY DISCOUNTING THE LONG SHOT POSSIBILITY THAT THE PRC MAY MAKE A 180 DEGREE CHANGE IN THE FOREGOING "AT THE LAST MOMENT". HIS STATED REASON FOR THIS IS SOLELY THAT "THE COMMUNISTS OFTEN DO BUSINESS THAT WAY".

8. FONMIN
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YAZAWA AND AMB TO PRC OGAWA ARE CONFERRING WITH PM MIKI AND OTHER SENIOR GOJ AND LDP LEADERS MAY 15 TO DETERMINE WHERE TO GO FROM HERE. CHINA DIV DEPDIR OGURA TOLD US TODAY (MAY 15) THAT ONE THING WAS CERTAIN: GOJ WOULD NOT WANT NEGOTIATIONS TO APPEAR TO BE RUPTURED OR EVEN SUSPENDED. DISCUSSIONS WITH CHINESE WILL CONTINUE IN CONTRAST TO TOGO, OGURA SAID CHINESE HAD NOT HARDENED THEIR POSITION. VICE FONMIN HAN HAD BEEN AS INSISTENT ON "ANTI-HEGEMONY" CLAUSE LAST NOVEMBER AS HE WAS WITH AMB OGAWA THIS WEEK. OGURA EXPLAINS PEKING'S ADAMANT POSITION AS FUNCTION OF CHINESE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT MIKI AND MIYAZAWA CHINESE DO NOT HARBOR SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT CURRENT LEADERS BUT UNLIKE FORMER PM TANAKA AND FORMER FONMIN OHIRA, MIKI AND MIYAZAWA HAVE PLAYED NO RECENT ROLE IN IMPROVING SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS TO GIVE CHINESE FULL CONFIDENCE IN THEM. OGURA BELIEVES CHINESE SUSPECT THAT LEAK TOP SECRET, AND INDEED THE CONTINUING PRESS DISCUSSION IN JAPAN OF "HEGEMONY" ISSUE, MAY HAVE BEEN PURPOSEFUL ON CURRENT JAPANESE LEADERS PART TO DELAY THE PEACE/AMITY TREATY. CHINESE ARE YET TO BE CONVINCED OF GENUINENESS OF COMMITMENT OF GOJ TOP LEADERS TO '72 JOINT COMMUNIQUE, ESPECIALLY REGARDING THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD "HEGEMONY". UNTIL THEY ARE, OGURA BELIEVES PEKING WILL NOT BUDGE ON "HEGEMONY". ONE POSSIBILITY FOR OVERCOMING

THESE SUSPICIONS, OGURA SAID, WOULD BE FOR EITHER PM MIKI OR MIYAZAWA TO GO TO PEKING AS DEMONSTRATION OF "GOOD FAITH" . CHINESE COULD USE SUCH AN OCCASION TO DISCLOSE WHATEVER COMPROMISE THEY HAVE IN THEIR PCKETS. OGURA ACKNOWLEDGED THE HAZARD OF MIKI OR MIYAZAWA FALLING INTO SAME TRAP AS JSP HEAD NARITA LAST WEEK AND THE DANGERS TO EITHER LEADER'S POLITICAL FUTURE IF HE SHOULD. OGURA ALSO STRESSED THAT SUCH A TRIP WAS ONLY ONE POSSIBILITY AND NOT NECESSARILY UNDER CONSIDERATION BY TOP LEADERS.

9. WE RAISED QUESTION WITH OGURA OF WHETHER PEKING MIGHT BE HARDENING THEIR STANCE IN AFTERMATH OF INDOCHINA DEVELOPMENTS OUT OF FEAR THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD MORE AGGRESSIVELY SEEK HEGEMONY PERHAPS THROUGH ITS COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME. TO ASSURE JAPAN'S SUPPORT IN OPPOSING
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SOVIET DESIGNS, CHINESE MIGHT NOW BE ALL THE MORE DESIROUS (AND INSISTENT) ON "ANTI-HEGEMONY" CLAUSE. OGURA DISCOUNTED THIS HYPOTHESIS AND REITERATED HIS ASSESSMENT OUTLINED ABOVE.

10. TOKYO'S COCKTAIL CIRCUITS ARE AWASH WITH TALES ABOUT "HEGEMONY" DEVELOPMENTS. TWO STAND OUT. SOVIET EMBASSY APPARENTLY LEAKED STORY THAT SOVIETS WOULD CUT TIES WITH JSP AS RESULT OF NARITA'S COMMUNIQUE WITH PEKING. ASIDE FROM WHETHER THEY WOULD ACTUALLY CUT TIES, SOVIETS MAY BE IMPLICITLY THREATENING TO PUT GREATER PRESSURE ON GOJ TO AVOID AGREEING TO PEKING'S TERMS FOR A TREATY. FRIENDLY DIPLOMAT ALSO TOLD US THAT HE OVERHEARD PRC AMB CHEN CHU AT CZECH RECEPTION EXCORIATING GOJ IN A VERY LOUD VOICE TO ROMANIAN AMB FOR OBSTINACY ON "HEGEMONY" ISSUE.

HODGSON UNQUOTE

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